plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch parallaling it, and an outer porch--but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese customs. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [169]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--Analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kasoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

C07 of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [769] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fields for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of [311] the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [501] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays [769] and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This leads to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their paren

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Hinatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Hinatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Hinatogawa. Of the 213 households in Hinatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

[4] In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

602
171

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist.

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition.

[769] [582] [156]

602
182

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Death and Funeral Services

761
181
[769]

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives.

764

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1]

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

765
[262]

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate.

[778]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks.

[776]

769

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death.

769
793
788

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest

[292]

769 793 788 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the significance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 511 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 511 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays, and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given ¥5 or ¥10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh [782] kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [594] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

527

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed.

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

769 [196]

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead.

[262] [415]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon.

[565] [262]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shizoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used.

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shikan (the custom).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions.

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Hinatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Hatsuda custom is like that of Hanashiro.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older.

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

5

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called Jugoya. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

● [469] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Minatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

[527] [202] [535] [536] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

[824] Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

[262] [252] There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

[769] The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

[177] Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan.

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room.

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest.

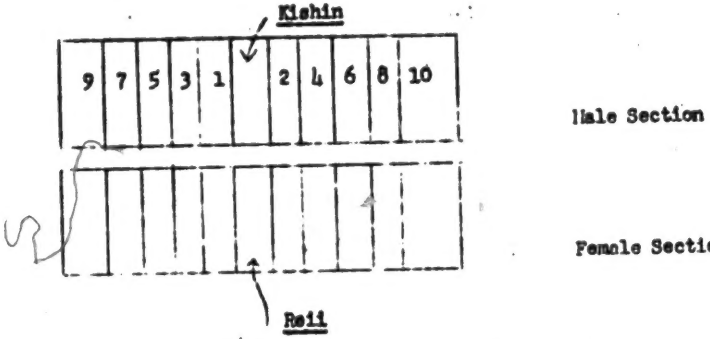
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office.

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference.

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it.

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces

798 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
799 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

798 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

791 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no in-
[182] stitutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children.

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses.

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing.

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is sanisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume.

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [336] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has
353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes
●769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [827] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and
[516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage
353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during
[356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed.

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." •

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house."

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden.

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives

• Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way.

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men.

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office.

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite.

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira.

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

♣
♣
♣

Chapter 8

Religion

771 177 [776] [769] The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices recognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces. The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confucian-Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, control many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might offend these supernatural forces.

[782] [784]

771 [154] Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although historically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate, they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 [372] The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action.

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together.

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults.

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow.

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the *sanjinsō* or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

757 [854] [164] [232] [578] frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 776 769 775 [764] As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in general are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 756 [787] In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, somebody may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of ceremonies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

[769] [793]

597 755 769 [796] Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors.

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient.

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father.

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it.

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance.

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families.

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration.

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people.

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day.

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking.

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health.

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child.

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us."

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully.

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made.

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away.

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands.

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar.

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 179
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

769 592 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
• 769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [521] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 888
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769* the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761 natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756 usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763 that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764 ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793] ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

1 See Chapter IX.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten. 765

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensitive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just mentioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the ceremony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impressive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies. 764 765 123 829 [554]

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made. 765 769

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made. 769 527

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

[Kanegusuku]

621 Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who
423 still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage.
425 Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it
[427] out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle.
Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an
* [769] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again
427 in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijuma with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 775 [152] [756] [787]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent", 769 753

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugvambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

1 Tawada, 1951.

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[542] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demo-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.